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No rites were practised exclusively for chiefs or their families—so far as I could discover. The rites which might be performed for anyone, particularly for first-born sons, were more elaborate for chiefs than for others, simply because their wealth was greater than that of others and not because of their position as chief. Any wealthy man could celebrate any event in exactly the same way as the chief, if he had the wherewithal. This applies to the great festivals at the time of tattooing, to those connected with building feast places in honor of living individuals, to the marriage festivals, and to the elaborate memorial festivals, the purposes of which was to elevate the spirit of a deceased individual to the power and prestige of a god.

Rôle of the chief in tribal worship

While the chief played no active rôle in the tribal ritual, he had what may be called a very important passive rôle. The concept of the association of human procreating power with generation, plenty, power, and so on, in nature, was fundamental in the native philosophy. The chief, as the living head of the tribal stock, represented the embodiment of this power for his tribe. It is natural, therefore, to find that in a chant obtained at Pua Ma'u, which was used in fishing, in connection with circumcision, and for other purposes, a number of esoteric words as elements in the charm have direct reference to the genitals of the chief. Another evidence of the way in which the chief embodied the spiritual power of the tribal, ancestral stock for his people is to be noted in the use of the skulls of chiefs in connection with certain rites, such as fishing. The same thing is shown again by the violent mourning in which the whole tribe participated on the death of their chief.

Administration of tribal affairs

Authority of the chief

As a chief's position in his tribe was primarily dependent on his wealth and social prestige (wealth and position being causative rather than resultant), so the amount of his authority was dependent on such personal factors as his character or personality and, most of all, on the affection of his people. When an old informant was asked what people in ancient times would do if a chief were oppressive, he replied, "They went to another chief." If a chief were defeated in war, he might become a *moho-moho*, a chief without people; or his people might stand by him and go into exile with him. The independent nature of the people would have made impossible the wielding of any arbitrary authority on the part of

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726 with womankind. Before the party set out for battle, they went through the ceremony called *Kouka*, the object of which was to insulate them against the missiles of the enemy. The warriors proceeded to the temple led by the *auhuna o'ono*, all holding in their hands peeled stalks of young fau wood, ornamented with small bands of the sacred white cloth. Singing the chant called *kouaka*, as they went, they arrived at the temple and thrust the fau wands they were carrying into the thatch of the house set apart for the inspirational priest. The ceremonial priest then addressed to the god a prayer in which it was said, "May such and such a people be vanquished." All the warriors thrust out their arms, then folded them, and shouted, "Our enemies will be for us like cockroaches."

[782] Pigs, fish, tapa cloth, and human victims were offered before battle. These sacrifices were called *houtu toua (houtu*, offering to gods; *toua*, war).

After battle the people who had lost one or several warriors sometimes performed the rite called *vai toto* A little of the earth that had been stained with the blood of the warrior was taken and in the night, at some [789] point above the enemy settlement, was put into the stream from which the enemy obtained their water. Those of the enemy tribe who drank of the water containing this charm were supposed to perish in the next combat.

726 While it is evident from the following description by Melville that 537 there were individuals among the people who aroused the excitement of fighters before war by oratory, there were, so far as I know, no formal orators such as those in Tahiti. Melville says (23, p. 160), describing a speaker:

> The effect he produced upon his audience was electric; one and all they stood regarding him with sparkling eyes and trembling limbs, as though they were listening to the inspired voice of a prophet.

Battle

726 War parties were dispatched to the scene of action by the chief and led by the *toa*. The place where the fighting took place was called *mata vai*. The scene of action was usually in the uplands between valleys, although sometimes large bodies of warriors would invade a valley from behind or from the side. Fighting was always by day. The wives of the warriors would follow them by some safe route to a point where they could see the fighting, going dressed in all their finery as though for a feast. They supported their men with spells, crying: "Into the ground the shot! Into the ground the shot! In vain! In vain! To the land! To the land! It is the shot of the god! It is the gun of the god." If a husband were shot, his woman lamented, *e aue! e aue! e aue!*: alas!

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The recitation of the *pu'e*, creation chant of the world and nature, made the work complete by uniting the new product of handicraft with creation from its beginnings, right down through the growth of all things to the new canoe. (See Sacred Chants.) The bedecking of the canoe and its house had this ceremonial significance: the *koufau* were the sign of *tapu; hiapo*, the cloth that covered the loins of *tapu* men symbolized both power and sacredness; and the *kopinipini* embodied the same sense of sacredness that brought about the use of the coconut leaf as a head and body dress by priests, and as a sign of truce.

Mr. Linton found that in both Hana Hehe and Pua Ma'u, on Hiva Oa, it was the custom, when a war canoe was being made, for a warrior of great prowess to sleep on or in the log from which the hull was being formed, during the nights of the period of its manufacture. This was in order that the canoe might have imparted to it the qualities of *mana*, power, and luck, which the warrior embodied.

All canoes used for war or the work of fishing were *tapu* to all women except chiefesses or priestesses for the reason that their contact with the canoe would have profaned it, hence made it lose its power (*mana*). Canoes that were built for voyaging must have been an exception to this rule, for women accompanied their men on voyages. If a fishing canoe were profaned by the touch of a woman, it was purified by having hair burned on the bow (7).

Types of Canoes

As full details of canoe construction are given in the work of another member (20) of the Marquesas party, the subject will be treated briefly here.

In the Marquesas there were craft of all kinds varying from those merely large enough for children to play in to the great exploring canoes. Porter gives excellent descriptions of the appearance of different forms of craft that he observed when he visited Nuku Hiva. His description of fishing canoes is quoted in the section devoted to fishing, that of war canoes under war.

Of canoes constructed for exploration Porter says (24, p. 103), "The canoes formed for the sole purpose of going in search of new lands are of a still larger construction, and are rigged in the same manner." It appears that these canoes for exploration were frequently double—that is, made by lashing two canoe bodies together, leaving a space of several yards between. On the cross-pieces were laid bars forming a platform. So far as I have ascertained, the Marquesas' canoes never had a house on this platform. In the story of Pohu such a platform is described as having

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INSPIRATION OF A TAU'A

The inspiration of such a priest by his god took the form of violent possession. So far as I have been able to find out, no artificial means were employed in inducing the physical state. Although, like the other old men, the inspirational priest consumed much *kava*, it does not seem to have been the object of inducing possession. When the priest was in such a state of possession, it was thought that the spirit which was animating him and speaking through his mouth was that of the god. According to Garcia (14, p. 46) when an inspirational priest desired to be possessed he would usually sleep at night in a sacred place, laying his head on the trunk of a coconut tree near the place consecrated to the god. Suddenly he would cry out that he heard the god coming and then he would make a noise, sometimes loud, sometimes soft, but always peculiar, seemingly a trick of ventriloquism, with which practice these priests were acquainted. Stewart says (26, p. 246) that

> . . . in their fits of inspiration they become convulsed, glare fiercely with their eyes, and put their hands into a violent quiver, running about prophesying death to their enemies, in a squeaking voice, and at times demanding human victims for the god by whom they were possessed.

In the manuscript of Père Pierre (4) the possession and activity of *tau'a* at such times are described as follows:

> When a god entered into the body of a *tau'a* (*etua hooka*) and took possession of him, the *tau'a* became depressed and his body became convulsed. If the god did not leave him soon, he took in his hand a stick of iron-wood (*hoto*) and set about traveling around the country like a man transported by the god or demon. The domestics of the priests (*moa*) and the *tauoha* (dancers) accompanied him in his evolutions. The *tauoha* danced in a grotesque manner about him. Arrived at a valley, he went to rest upon the sacred place (*me'ae*) and passed the night there to incorporate in himself the god of this place. He behaved thus in all the valleys through which they passed. During all the time of his evolutions or possession, he took nothing at all for nourishment but the water of coconut. It was not permitted to maltreat him, nor any of his followers, because of the god who resided in him; but the *moa* and the *tauoha* must watch that no one gave him the water of coconut with *eka* (amomum) in it, lest the god abandon him. Should he drink this potion he would have ceased to be a *tau'a* and his virtue would have passed to him who had given him this drink.
>
> During his evolutions, all work was suspended. It was not even permitted to light a fire. Everybody must stay at home and shave his head. It was forbidden to carry *eka*, to rub oneself with it, or to anoint one's self with oil, under pain of being put to death by the god. The *tau'a* tried to kill with his staff (*hoto*) any whom he saw smearing themselves with the yellow *eka*. Arrived at the valley next his own, he would throw his staff into the sea and this stick would arrive before him upon the beach of his own district. [In the story of Fatu-a-nono, a *tau'a* is saved from drowning by her staff, which bears her to shore from a swamped canoe.]
>
> Having returned to his district, he went to the sacred place. The *moa* and the *tauoha* built him a house with green coconut leaves. In a moment of convulsions he cried: *"Eno tu u taiba i N—"* (There are my sacrifices at N—), stating the num-

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heana. Tiki-tuao had seen the tribal gods eating the spirit (*kuhane*) of his brother-in-law before the latter was even conscious of the fact that his body was to be sacrificed, the physical sacrifice in this case following the capture of the man's *kuhane* by the gods.

Tapu Before Offering Human Sacrifice

A general *tapu* on the whole tribe was in order at the time of the offering of a human victim. During this rite, the temple assistants kept a great fire burning in the temple precincts. While this fire was burning, no others would be lighted, no one might leave his house, and absolute silence was required. It is said that the inspirational priest could detect violation of this *tapu* by looking into his bowl of *kava*. According to Père Pierre (4), the ceremony of offering human sacrifice lasted seven days. During these seven days the relatives of the victim remained in their houses, never leaving them, lying prone with their heads covered with cloth, lest they come under the power of the spell recited for that purpose over the body of their relative who was being sacrified. This rite, called *mao heana*, is recorded from the island of Hiva Oa by Père Pierre. The face of a human victim was smeared with red pigment. Flowers of *oute* (*Hibiscus rosa sinensis*) were put in their ears. Young *noni* fruits were put in the mouth of the victim, being regarded as bait (*hakoko*) which would draw the relatives of the victim. The spirit of the victim was supposed to carry this bait to the house of his relatives and thus bring it about that they also could be seized as victims.

Rites at Time of Human Sacrifice

The following description of the rite called *ha'i ha'i heaka*, the rite of human sacrifice on Nuku Hiva, is taken from the account of Père Siméon (7), based on the notes of other of the earlier Catholic missionaries:

As the bearers of the victims approached, the priests, dressed in their ceremonial costume, awaited them on the dance area. Drumming announced the approach of the victim. When the carriers arrived, they threw the bodies down before the priests. The victims for the gods were then taken to the temple. There, two baskets called *kete hakaoko* (basket-make-strong), containing fishhooks and some young fresh coconuts, were hung on the arms of each victim. Two fish-hooks were fastened to the lips of the victim, which were drawn tight by small cords. In the baskets was bait to entice the victim's relatives. The inspirational priest mounted the temple platform with a fan in hand and with eyes raised, cried, *"Ou! ou! ou! oho te ʔiʔi"* (Let wrath be kindled). The chant (called *ha'ika*) accompanying the sacrifice was offered by the chief ceremonial priest.

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CURSING

According to Père Pierre (4), objects were cursed by being named either after the head, which was the most sacred part of the body, or after the private parts of a woman, which were the most profane. If a house were so named, its inmates could no longer live in it. If a dish, clothes, or weapons had been so cursed, they could no longer be used, but were thrown upon some sacred pavement. In like manner, the phrase *to roro* (your brain) was applied to persons or objects as a curse or an insult. This was not, however, regarded as being as potent as naming after the head. (See under Names and Naming the discussion of establishing ownership of property by naming it after the head.)

When a woman desired to kill herself she accomplished it by means of the rite called *niu vahi*. She took a coconut to a sacred place and broke in into two parts, saying, "This part is for ——— [a god's name], that part for my pudendum." Her death would result from her having named one-half of the coconut for the god and the other for her private parts (4).

Paha, tuhi, pakee, and *pakee amu* were terms applied to personal curses (8). Some of the potent epithets that were used in cursing were *u moena,* "you are a mat"; *hupau,* "you are a coarse mat"; *to roro,* "your brains"; *e aha te u ka'e,* meaning "what is above"—that is, "above your mouth," an indirect way of saying "your brains"; *kio'e pa'a pe,* "rotten rat." These are Nuku Hiva curses. On Hiva Oa, one called another man *taho a ma,* "pile of breadfruit paste"; *paha'a a te puaka,* "hog's trough." Such curses were supposed to bring about accident or death to the individual cursed; they inevitably incurred retaliation on the part of the man insulted. Much less potent invectives were *koea ina,* meaning "you are a fool, a madman"; and *koea pi'au ina,* "you are a stinking fool." When one man had cursed another, he could remove the effects of it by collecting certain evil-smelling herbs, pounding them to a pulp, and washing with this the whole body of the individual who had been cursed. The evil spirits that were brought by the curse were supposed to be driven out by the evil odors.

DRESS AND PERSONAL ADORNMENT

Children of both sexes went naked up to the time of puberty. Men working in the bush, fishing, or the like, commonly discarded the usual loin cloth—at such times the foreskin was sometimes tied with a piece of string or a leaf. The common every-day dress of men was the loin cloth, of women, a waist cloth worn either as a skirt or a loin cloth. Sheets of cloth were worn by women as festival robes and to protect them from the sun; similar sheets were worn by men as ceremonial robes and as war

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took it and its accoutrements and deposited them in the tribal sacred place. It is not clear whether the sacred rope put in the *tona pou* house, that of Motuhaiki, was the same as this used on the *fata*, or whether there were two sacred ropes. It seems probable that they were one and the same.

Coral was brought from the sea and hidden under the ridge thatching of the house to give it *mana* (*ha'a mana*). The house was also decorated with the white and red bark cloth reserved for sacred purposes. When the rite was over, the cloth and coral were removed and put away carefully, and the woodwork and thatching of the house were burned.

The *fa'e papa* or *fa'e vanana*, in which the *vavana* was chanted was not a *fa'e tapu*, sacred house, for women took part in the rites held in it. It was described as a lage house of the common form built on the ground with neither platform nor posts. There appear to have been no ceremonial accoutrements.

The morning after the rite was completed several men went to the seashore to procure sand, the act of seeking it being called *te one* (the sand) or *tiki*. The sand was carried in coconut shells to the *fa'e papa*. What was done with it I could not ascertain. The man (or boy?) giving the feast went also in the morning and drank some sea foam to make him wise (*ha'a ma'ama'ama te koekoe*). He also took a small fish called *pao'o*, placed it in one hand and patted it with the other; then he put the hand with which he had patted it to his mouth. This insured that neither hand nor mouth would make a mistake in execution of what had been learned. The fish, taro root, and a coconut were carried home and hung by the man on the post serving as a food hanger that stood in front of his own dwelling. The fish was called *te i'a pohu'e*, the healing or life-giving fish. The taro was called *utuna*. After the coconut had been hung up, the father and mother of the child were obliged to abstain from the food called *ko'ehi*. (See Preparation of Food.) This rite was quite distinct from that of the preceding day when the father collected certain objects and hung them on the post in front of the sacred house.

The sand taken to the *fa'e papa* was called "the sand of Tiki." It was called also *te kopito menava*, which was said to mean "the life of the child." It is directly connected in some way with the story of Tiki's impregnation of a pile of sand which he heaped up on the seashore.[21]

[21] A Maori ceremony described by Tregear (27, p. 47.) furnishes a clue to the meaning of this. "In the New Zealand rite, performed before the birth of a child for the purpose of strengthening it, the priest built two mounds by a stream, the mounds serving in the symbolic casting down of "the path of death" and the erection of "the path of life." "This was done to represent the act of Tiki, the Creator, when the first woman was made."

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of native chants and the native religious thought that the original translation of this so-called *vanana* was from the English into Marquesan and not the other way.

The regular versification and poetic form are obviously not Marquesan but European. The idiom and content of the thought is likewise patently European, as is illustrated in the lines: "The two the same glory. "Atea the body, Ono the Spirit." "O wondrous thrones, whereon to seat the great Lord Atea." "O thrones whereon to seat the Lord of love."

The study of the sacred chants given above brings out most interestingly the nature of the Marquesan philosophy and its application to life and its activities. The chants really amount to elaborated causative spells. These spells recapitulate the birth, rearing, and growth of the child, the making of his ornaments, weapons, sacred house, adz, canoe, and so on, coupling all the processes with appropriate mythological references and serving to consecrate the child and the things. Thus in the *vavana* the stages of birth and subsequent phases of the child's life are coupled with the emergence of the first gods from the elevel above and the level below and subsequent incidents. In the chant called *oho-au no Motuhoiki*, the making of the boy's canoe is coupled with the same work done by Motuhaiki, patron of canoe building, in ancient times. In the *pu'e* recited for the house the materials used for construction are referred to in association with their origin as children born by Atea by different mothers and are connected with the earliest stages of the world's growth. Thus in each chant the process and the new product of man's handicraft are coupled with the original processes and objects of generative creation.

The Ti'e-Mata and Faufau-oa

The *ti'e-mata* was a sacred chant sung for the first-born at the same feast at which the *vavana* and other sacred chants were intoned in his honor. It was sung after the *vavana* and the *pu'e*. The subject matter of the chant is for the most part the same as that of the *pu'e* and the *vavana*, being made up almost entirely of mythological description and reference.

Also sung at the festival for the sacred first-born, of which the *vavana* and the *pu'e* were the main features, was another chant called the *faufau-oa*. The context, which is all with references to occurrences in the ancient lands, gives no evidence as to the object or purpose of the chant except that it is the chant of a certain girl whose name is mentioned. It was probably composed in her honor. In an account of a family chanting feast, given by another informant, it was said that the singing was begun by a woman's chanting the *faufau-oa*.

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ers, would commence a low, dismal, and monotonous chant, accompanying the voice with the instrumental melody produced by two small half-rotten sticks tapped slowly together, a pair of which were held in the hands of each person present. Thus would they employ themselves for an hour or two, sometimes longer.

Chants as Spells

An example of the text of the chants used in deep-sea fishing at Pua Ma'u was obtained by Mr. Linton, and in the same valley I got one of that used in turtle fishing. The one used for turtle fishing, called by its reciter *mauta'a*, was said to have been used also in connection with the operation of incision of the boy's foreskin, and in conjunction with the rites of the memorial festivals.

In the myth of Tiki the hero chants or recites a spell, which is called *ue*, to give life to his child. *Ue* as a word was applied not only to weeping and grief but also to affection and to the male generative organ. Its use as the name of the chant or spell is probably in connection with the last mentioned meaning.

A spell called *koutapa* was chanted as a part of the healing rite called *tatooho*. (See Sickness.)

The tattooing artist recited a chant accommodated to the rhythm of his tapping while he worked. The recitation served as a spell to ease the pain.

Ha'a naunau appears to have been a general term for many types of songs, chants, and spells. It means "a singing." *Patautau* was used with the same meaning in Ua Huka. In the story of Kena a potent spell, the recital of which gives the hero the power to accomplish his exploits, is referred to throughout as *ha'a naunau*. Individual spells are recited in just this form in a number of stories. One example of Kena's spell on an occasion when he was compelling a number of boys to come on board his canoe is as follows:

Eia u, eia u, eia u, o Kena.
Here am I, here am I, here I, Kena.

Ai oa, te tau toiki!
Ah, the boys!

A kau! Amai i una o na vaka nei.
Swim! Come on to the canoe.

Miscellaneous Chants

Mauta'a and *ha'a naunau* seem to have been terms applied to chants and spells used for various purposes. In some of the written legends the characters chant *mauta'a* when pursuing or about to meet enemies in

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combat. In Pua Ma'u *mauta'a* is applied to chants supposed to give efficacy to enterprises and to bring about good results in tattooing or in surgical operations; and lastly, *mauta'a* served as songs to announce the coming of groups of people to feasts. When a great feast was being held at a festival place every tribe that arrived would sing its *mauta'a*, the chant being cried in a powerful voice by some selected singer. When the *mauta'a* of the visitors was heard it was answered from the feast place by those waiting to receive them, one man or several men crying out with great force.

The *ta'a* appears to have been the same as the *mauta'a*. These *ta'a*, according to Pua Ma'u informants, were shouted at feasts by men and women together.

The *vakahoa* resembled the *mauta'a* in being a sort of chant of exultation. It was sung by canoe parties or groups coming on foot to a festival. An example will be published with the text of the legend of Tana-oa, in which this chant caused the sinking of canoes that Tana-oa was pursuing, indicating that it was in the nature of a spell.

The *u'i* may be characterized as a dramatic dialogue recounting a matching of wits by two *tuhuna*. Every tribe had its *u'i* which was used in the following way. If a tribe went visiting into another valley and they were welcomed and entertained all was well. But if, on the other hand, as they lay offshore in their canoes they were told to "Get out" (Hau!!!), they would sing their *u'i*. In reply to this song of defiance the local tribe would sing a chant called *vave*. The example of an *u'i* that I have recounts, in the form of a dialogue, the contest and matching of wits of two *tuhuna* of ancient times. I was told that in such a contest as this chant describes a judge would sit between the two contestants while they cross-questioned and recriminated each other. The contestants were *tuhuna o'ono*, masters of myth, legend, and genealogy. The one who was outwitted was considered as defeated or overthrown (*ua hina*) by the victor. It is said that formerly a *tuhuna* thus defeated was killed. Such contests still take place in an informal way, and it is believed by some today that he who pretends to knowledge and is found wanting will die.

In the story of Kae a young adventurer sings a song called Atuia as he approaches the dwelling of his affianced (*tuia*).

The *kapa* was a kind of song which recounted the exploits of a hero.

The great development of singing is indicated by the number of kinds of chants that had distinct names. Dordillon (8) gives, in addition to a number of the names of the chants that have been described above, the various terms for other chants and kinds of chants. It would seem that

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X533 The elaborate festival that would be celebrated when the new arena was 534 completed, and the ode, composed in honor of the youth, that would be chanted, would constitute an historic event that would glorify the individual, his family and his tribe, to the end of the memory of man, or certainly as long as there was any man living who could tell posterity for whom the place of celebration (*taha ko'ina*) had been built.

X533 789 The eulogistic chants had also a religious aspect, but this was more important in certain other chants that were recited for the first-born when he was a child. (See p. 23.) One of the fundamental concepts in the native religion was the belief that men and gods, in fact all things and beings whatever their nature, on account of a sympathetic psychic rapport that was thought to exist naturally (as between relatives), or that could be artificially established, were subject to direct influence through the medium of and by means of the repetition of "words with power" in dynamic chanting, and by dynamic movements accompanying the recital. The process of empowering the individual was also aided by the use of potent objects that served as mediums of psychic power. It is not difficult to picture the atmosphere of these occasions, nor to realize the actual effect that must have come to the child or youth. To the Marquesan, the feeling of the sense of power that must have come as an ever increasing accession during these performances would be sufficient proof of the actual effect; and we may surmise that the exuberant personal vanity characteristic of these people rendered the effect actual and lasting. The expansive feelings of pride and satisfaction would not be passing sensations but lasting realities that would be roused anew with every reminder of the event. Unquestionably these eulogistic singings had just the beneficial effects that the Marquesans attributed to them, though perhaps, American and European students will believe, from causes and in a manner different from those imagined by the natives.

X533 Besides the *putu, pehi, pipine* and *pope* (pp. 23-4), which were the only types of which Haapuane, my Marquesan informant, knew the melodies, there were a number of other kinds of eulogistic songs for different occasions. Several of these, the *Ti'e-mata* and *Faufau-oa*, were composed to be sung for the first-born boy at the chanting festival (p. 23), celebrating the completion of his education in the learning of the sacred chants and genealogies. The *pope* was composed and sung at the time of the consecration of a new house for the first-born; and the *putu* and *pehi* were performed in his honor when he had attained to young manhood. In addition to these, two other types of eulogistic chants may be mentioned. The *pu'ukeha* was a song similar to the *pipine*, but instead of honoring a young girl, it was composed and sung in honor of a

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person's mother. Still another type was called the *i'i*. This, it is said, was a form of tribute paid when there was a feast in honor of a chiefess. When a *ko'ina i'i* was announced, people of the home valley and many from neighboring friendly settlements would come prepared to sing *i'i* in honor of the chiefess; and all would bring, as appropriate gifts to accompany their songs, offerings of flowers. According to legend, the first *i'i* was taught to a young man who was desirous of attending a festival in honor of a chiefess by two birds, who were in reality "wild women" (*vehine hae*) of the mountains. The youth, who was handsome as heroes of legends seem usually to be, charmed not only the chiefess but all the other ladies at the feast, so that they were all filled with a passionate desire for him.

Of the strictly religious chants there were many kinds. Before describing these it will be well, without dwelling too long on this subject—which would in itself require a whole book for thorough explanation and illustration— to bring out certain of the most important points with regard to the place of chanting in the native religion. The Marquesans, like all Polynesians, chanted their prayer-spells because they believed in the efficacy or dynamic effect of rhythmic intonation; they considered such intonation to be an essential feature of all religious recitations. The singing of the choral religious chants is nothing more than intonation by large groups with prescribed rhythm and melody of causative dynamic spells. These chants may be compared to the liturgies of the Christian and the Thibetan Buddhist churches. The Marquesans believed that the gods who animated and vivified all nature, including man and all other living beings and things—in fact, nature as a whole, made up of gods and spirits, and earth-dwelling beings and things—were affected directly by these causative recitations.

The *pu'e* chant describes the growth (*pu'e*, to grow) of the world from its beginnings. It was intoned to consecrate children and such things as new houses and new canoes. The idea in the native mind apparently was that the dynamic recitation, along with the repetition of many meaningless "words with power," of the stages of the world's growth served to make the new thing one with all nature and thus to consecrate it, psychically binding it firmly to all growing, living nature. The *pu'e* was strictly tapu, and was never intoned except by priests and the old men who constituted the choirs in the great ceremonies. But there was another creation chant, called the *vavana* (which probably means "sacred knowledge") which, though tapu, was learned and sung by women as well as by men. (Women as a class were not tapu as were men.) This, like the *pu'e*, was intoned in a slow tempo accompanied by clapping of the

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of affairs has had considerable effect on the life of the people. In good seasons there was plenty of food; but one of these droughts, which might last as long as three years, used up all the stores of food and caused genuine starvation; sometimes it drove the natives to hunger cannibalism. A severe drought of this sort could cut the population by a third.

Agriculture was practiced under difficulties because of the steep slopes, very little of the land being level enough for irrigation by the crude native methods. The staple crops in other Polynesian countries, the taro and the yam, were of very little importance here. The Marquesans were dependent almost entirely upon the tree crops—breadfruit, cocoanuts, bananas—and on sugarcane. Another important crop was the paper mulberry, a domesticated tree with very long slender stems from which the natives made their clothing. These tree crops required no intensive cultivation. When a child was born, the father planted a breadfruit tree and a cocoanut tree for the new addition to the family. These trees would provide the child with food as long as he lived. All trees and gardens were individually owned and inherited. A certain right of eminent domain was invested in the chief, but he was hesitant to take a garden from even the lowliest native for fear of retaliation through magic.

In good years there were four breadfruit crops, the first of which was gathered communally. When the fruit was ready for gathering, the chief sent out messengers announcing the event; everyone turned out to gather the crop, which was cut up, fermented, and stored in great communal pits hidden outside the village so that they would not be discovered in case of an enemy raid. The pits were enormous; I have seen some as much as twenty feet across and twenty feet deep, cut into rocky soil. The pit was lined with leaves, and the breadfruit paste was wrapped in packages which preserved it so well that it never became too old for consumption. The entire yield of the first crop went into these large pits, which were opened only in time of famine. The second crop was similarly preserved, but was stored in the household pits. There were no rules governing

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acquisition of a spirit. In the latter case, the magician, after he had completed his training but before he began to practice, had to kill a close relative in the ascending generation by magical means. This relative could be either male or female, but the most effective way for a magician to acquire a powerful familiar was for him to kill his own mother. The magician dominated the spirit of the person he had killed and forced it to serve him. Magical familiars might be of either sex and could work against either sex. Magic might be performed either by sending the spirit directly to make the enemy sick or by using bait. Illnesses of pregnancy and childbirth were always ascribed to *fanaua* and never to malevolent magic. The use of bait followed a familiar magical pattern, the bait consisting of some of the individual's hair, or if this was impossible to obtain, a part of his clothing or some other object which had been in close contact with him. However, I was told by natives that in such practice one was not operating on a part of the personality of the victim, but rather giving the familiar spirit his scent, like putting a dog on the trail. A familiar thus put in touch with an object would then follow up the person to whom it belonged and injure or kill him. The attacking spirit would be called off by the magician if payment was made. It is interesting to note that there seemed to be no rituals in Marquesan magic to preserve work in progress from injury through the magic of rivals or to prevent the success of another person in his work. The presence of hostile magic was shown by sickness or death, not by work failure. If a work project, which usually had certain rituals connected with it, failed, it was because the worker had not done his magic correctly, not because of any fault in the magic itself.

One rather puzzling aspect of Marquesan magic was the complete absence of charms to be worn either for defense or to insure success in any activity. The whole idea of wearing charms appeared to be foreign to them. During the war I had become accustomed to wearing an identification tag around my neck and was still wearing it when I arrived in the islands. The

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natives were much puzzled by this and were quite unable to understand the charm explanation which was given. Some practitioners had images of their familiars but these were not necessary.

Folklore and Legends

From Handy's[1] volume we take some of the Marquesan legends. One story deals with the *kaioi,* who play a game of spear throwing. The hero says his spear will pierce Temooniew's ear. He pronounces a spell over the spear, and it does as he wishes. She takes the spear out and goes into the cave. He then goes to look for a mast for his canoe, and lands in Temooniew's cave. There he finds a tall tree which he fells, but Temooniew holds the crest. He climbs up and Temooniew threatens to kill him for piercing her ear and cutting her down. He makes her his wife, though she demurs but gives in finally, after "showing evil ways," i.e., she licks her lips and sticks out her tongue.

She prepares food of rats and lizards. He offers to take her to his country, where the food is good. He goes away after some piece of deception. She follows him, casts a sleeping spell over his folks, steals him while asleep, and carries him back to her cave. He awakens terrified. She scolds him for his deception, and threatens to kill and eat him. He begs her not to eat him, and excuses his lying. Then they make peace, she goes to his country, and becomes good. Then she has children, and the story ends.

Another tale concerns a woman who has three children, whom she raises instead of giving them away for adoption. She sends them for food; they get it and then go to sleep. The mother steals the baskets of food and conceals them in her back. The children miss the food baskets, but the mother denies knowledge of them. She sends them out again, and the same thing happens ten times. The children then suspect that the mother is a cannibal. The children deceive her and bring a

[1] E. S. Craighill Handy, *Marquesan Legends* (Honolulu, 1930).

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observances (Handy, ibid) reported in the ethnographic sources are no longer observed, not even in part. Elder informants, speaking of the past, stated that boys were often assigned to women who would supervise the healing of the incision and indulge in a ritual intercourse upon the removal of the scabs. There is no ethnographic or historic data to substantiate or contradict these statements; however, due to the fact that they were obtained from a usually reliable informant, I deem them to be acceptable, at least tentatively.

Likewise, no comparative data exists for the practice of preserving the bamboo slivers used for stretching the foreskin in the circumcision operation as a charm against impotence, although Handy reports that the slivers were preserved without stating a reason for the preservation. It was only possible to obtain information on this practice in one valley; therefore, the behavior may actually be a local development. It is doubtful if very profound regional differences in such matters can exist in an island population of about 980 people in which a reasonable amount of traffic between valleys takes place.

There is little evidence concerning the age at which male children began to have heterosexual experiences in the aboriginal period. Linton (p. 168) states that both sexes began heterosexual intercourse before /94/ puberty. As will be noted later, this was apparently true for the females, but it may not have been so for males. The stigma attached to lack of circumcision is strong today, and as Handy indicates (p. 95), it was quite strong in the past if not stronger. It is therefore doubtful if boys would be able to enter into heterosexual intercourse before circumcision. It appears, then, that circumcision may have been the gateway to heterosexual relations in the past as it is now, and the disparate ages at which the sexes begin such activity may not be a result of culture contact, but a reflection of the situation.

The vaginal cosmetics used by adolescent girls again bear witness to the heavy emphasis placed on genital qualities in evaluating the sexual potential of a woman. The use of cosmetics can be considered as part of the complex of practices beginning in early infancy, designed to